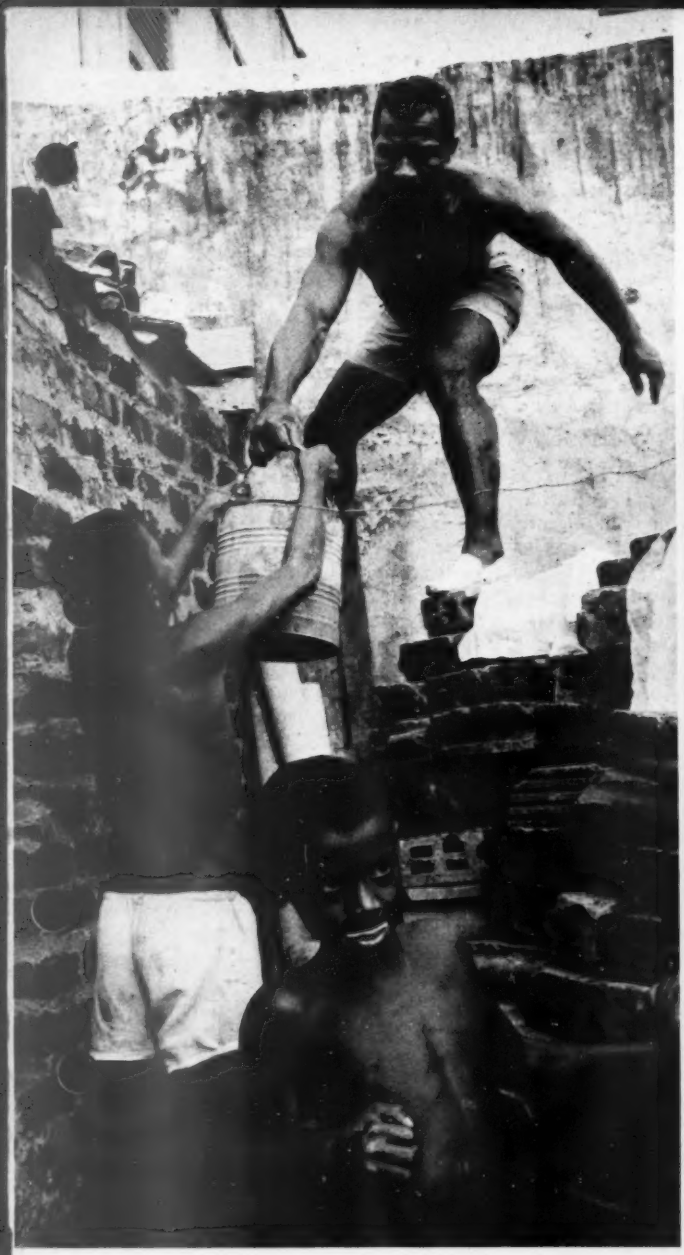
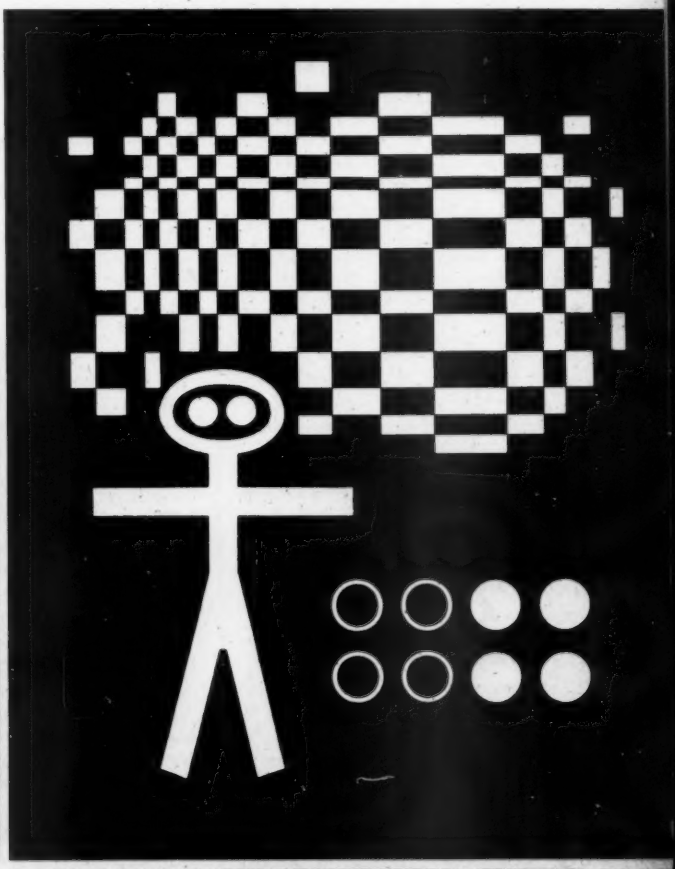


PEACE CORPS volunteer

OCTOBER 1967



The seven-year itch

By BRENT K. ASHABRANNER

In recent months there have been scattered reports in newspapers and journals which have fed rumors that there might be a rift between the Peace Corps and the academic community.

You may have read, for example, that we disagreed with a leading university about training operations on its campus. You may have read also that we plan an increased emphasis on training Peace Corps Volunteers in new centers which we will own and operate.

Some may think that for a relatively young institution, which relied heavily on academia in the beginning, we have grown mighty independent.

I am inclined to agree that the honeymoon is over.

But I believe that we are in many ways closer because of our differences. The Peace Corps is entering its seventh year. We are suffering, I think, what marriage counselors might call a "protracted relationship syndrome"; in short, we have a case of the seven year itch.

As we begin the seventh year of our relationship with colleges and universities, we have just begun to find ways to integrate preparation for Peace Corps service with formal degree study. We are experimenting with five-year degree programs in which two years of Peace Corps service is credited towards a college degree. At the State University of New York at Brockport, for example, students will enter the program after their sophomore year, complete their junior year and two summers, and then be assigned overseas.

Twenty Harvard-Radcliffe seniors interned this summer in Panama, Senegal and Ethiopia. They return to Cambridge for continued study during their senior year. We expect to learn a good deal from them about independent study as a training technique.

These are only beginnings. Other models, other patterns must be developed. The Peace Corps will meet academia half way and more.

I am sure we will see in the next few years a sharp decrease in the old pattern of one-shot, ad hoc training programs sprinkled willy-nilly around the nation's campuses.

We are going to set up a few more Peace Corps-run training centers —our so-called "in-house" centers— which will concentrate on preparing Volunteers for specific areas of the world. We will certainly continue to need our university friends in these centers.

With a small number of universities I think we will also develop an in-depth relationship. Our current plan with the University of Hawaii may well serve as a model. In the coming year, the University of Hawaii will train over 1,000 Volunteers for programs in East Asia and the Pacific on an unusual contract basis which provides for a core professional staff. The university will be preparing and backstopping our Volunteers who are to work in Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and parts of Polynesia. Hawaii will participate in across-the-board program development through training, implementation, overseas support, research and evaluation.

Such an arrangement should make possible the buildup and application of great area expertise. I would hope that the universities with which we develop such plans could almost become or contain Peace Corps academies. In these academies the processes of international communication, understanding and development would be studied and the results of the studies applied in action.

But I have one concern that I especially want to share with you.

I am very much afraid that the Peace Corps has not been given an especially friendly reception by many, if not most, of the senior faculty members on American college and university campuses. I never expect to go onto a campus anymore without having at least one professor or dean or academic vice president say to me, "You must remember that the Peace Corps is only one of a great many government activities competing for our time, and the Peace Corps *is* rather marginal to our institution's basic interests."

This little speech comes forth with such regularity and with such an amazing sameness of wording that in my bleaker moods I suspect its text was agreed upon at some nationwide secret convention called by academicians for the sole purpose of putting the Peace Corps in its place.

There are of course notable exceptions: I could compile a distinguished list. But it would still be a list of exceptions.

I am sure there are several reasons for this lack of friendliness on our campuses. Some professors doubtless feel a threat in the Peace Corps' demand for a new kind of action-oriented education for its Volunteers. They have their course outlines, their lectures, their research projects all organized and they don't want any interference or embarrassing questions from an upstart outfit that isn't satisfied with the answers that it has thus far received to the problems of communications and cross-cultural understanding. Others on university faculties still profess to see in the Peace Corps an amorphous do-goodism.

A healthy skepticism is fine. I think most Peace Corps staff members had it in the beginning. I am not talking about that. I am talking about a lack of interest or even a faint hostility which springs from a failure or refusal on the part of many faculty advisors to critically examine the Peace Corps as a valid option for the graduating senior or the master's degree candidate.

Too many students have come to me to say they were interested in the Peace Corps but their senior professor thought they would be wasting their time or should take the depart-

Brent K. Ashabranner, one of the first Peace Corps staff members to serve overseas and a former director of training, has been nominated by President Lyndon B. Johnson as the agency's deputy director, the No. 2 job in the Peace Corps. Ashabranner, 46, taught English at Oklahoma State University before going to Africa in 1955 with a forerunner of the AID program; he helped set up the first Peace Corps program in Nigeria in 1961 and was later country director in India. This article was adapted from an address he made to the American Psychological Association convention in Washington, D. C. as acting deputy.

mental fellowship being offered or had better get on with their study program if they expected to be taken seriously by the graduate school.

In some cases the student surely should take the fellowship, but I believe every faculty advisor today has a real obligation to have something more than a superficial understanding of what personal and career values are possible in the experience of being a Peace Corps Volunteer.

I know that the Peace Corps should do more than it has done to foster this understanding. A university president who is as concerned as I am about this matter recently suggested that on as many campuses as possible seminars be held that would bring together top-level Peace Corps officers and faculty members representing the whole range of disciplines. These seminars would explore the Peace Corps experience, its validity for the graduating college student, and the most meaningful relationship between the universities and the Peace Corps. We would be delighted to participate in such dialogues. We would welcome any other suggestions for the exchange of views and information.

It seems to me that if there was ever a natural partnership it is between the universities and the Peace Corps. I believe that our universities have a fundamental responsibility in helping to solve the world's pressing problems of communication, understanding, scarcity of food, overpopulation and disease. If we are honest, we must admit that the battle against these problems has barely started.

The time has come to question why —in spite of the wealth and resources of a nation which will educate 60 million people in *our own society* this year—the Peace Corps is still almost the only and certainly is the largest provider of long-term, action-oriented education designed to grapple with the problems of the *world society* in which we live.

But as yet not we, nor the development experts, nor the leaders of the developing world have many of the answers. We perhaps have not yet even formulated the right questions.

Some of the best brains in our universities—not enough, but some—are thinking about the questions and the answers. At the same time thousands of young men and women are leaving the campuses to serve in the Peace Corps, to work in parts of the world where the better answers are needed. Other thousands are returning from the Peace Corps to the campuses—and one of the reasons they return to school is that they now know how much more there is to learn.

There has never been anything remotely comparable to the opportunity the Peace Corps has provided for the teachers and those they taught (and from whom they can now learn) to come together and work together with the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America to find the right questions and to answer them in action. If we do not seize this opportunity, another may be too long and too late in coming.

And so I propose that we work at our partnership and spend the coming year drawing up the questions and beginning our search for the answers.

I am told that people who work at it almost always survive that most dangerous seventh year.

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ON THE COVER: At upper left, Carl Purcell's photo of a Brazilian family in a community development program. Below, an illustration of Fred Englander's observation (Page 9) that words are firmly implanted in a cultural context. The figure at right is a preliterate tribal man, interacting with a mosaic pattern of information giving him instant vision of a complex process (Pages 4-8). Below, vintage scene from Puerto Rico training (Page 18).

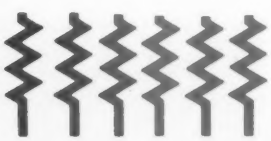
The media

"They are the native citizens of the electronic environment." Here trainees study language via vid

After the campus the Peace Corps is going to bear the first big brunt of the electric generation. Most of its members are still *down there*, in front of the TV tubes. But very shortly they will be weaned from the tubes and they will be *up here*. The Peace Corps isn't ready for them.

A glance around the halls finds the Peace Corps staff lined up for Xerox machines, reading case histories in an expanding library, writing memorandums, repairing typewriters, composing thesis-length evaluations, shuffling cables, dummying a proposed *Peace Corps Journal* and answering letters. A census of Peace Corps headquarters reveals only two television sets in the house, neither in operation.

All this is "hot" activity and everything in, on and around it indicates that the Peace Corps staff is still very turned on and super sincere about the depression babies, who put the show on the road, and the war babies, who are currently making it run.



But just over the literary horizon, beyond the mountains of memos and books and circulars and brochures and magazines, lies the next generation of Volunteers, who will be post-literate. Their emergence is heralded by Marshall McLuhan. Though socio-cultural theorist McLuhan has not directly catalogued the Peace Corps in his delineations of the new age, his message is easily and appropriately applicable to the volunteer movement. He is full of words like Participation, Roles, Involvement, Discovery—charter members of the Peace Corps lexicon. Insofar as it is possible to read McLuhan's philosophy in context, an important message develops. It is that the generation nurtured on electronic media will force the Peace Corps to accelerate its motions toward mass culture and the global village inspired by electronic circuitry. A corollary message is that the Peace Corps has been "cool" in the past and to stay that way it is going to have to become cooler to accommodate its future legions.

This speculation that Marshall McLuhan has chronicled the Second Coming of the Peace Corps Act is predicated on two suspicions. One is that McLuhan is right about the future. The other is that the Peace Corps is perched precariously between

By STUART AWBREY and PAUL REED

the "hot" culture of the past and the "cool" culture of the future.

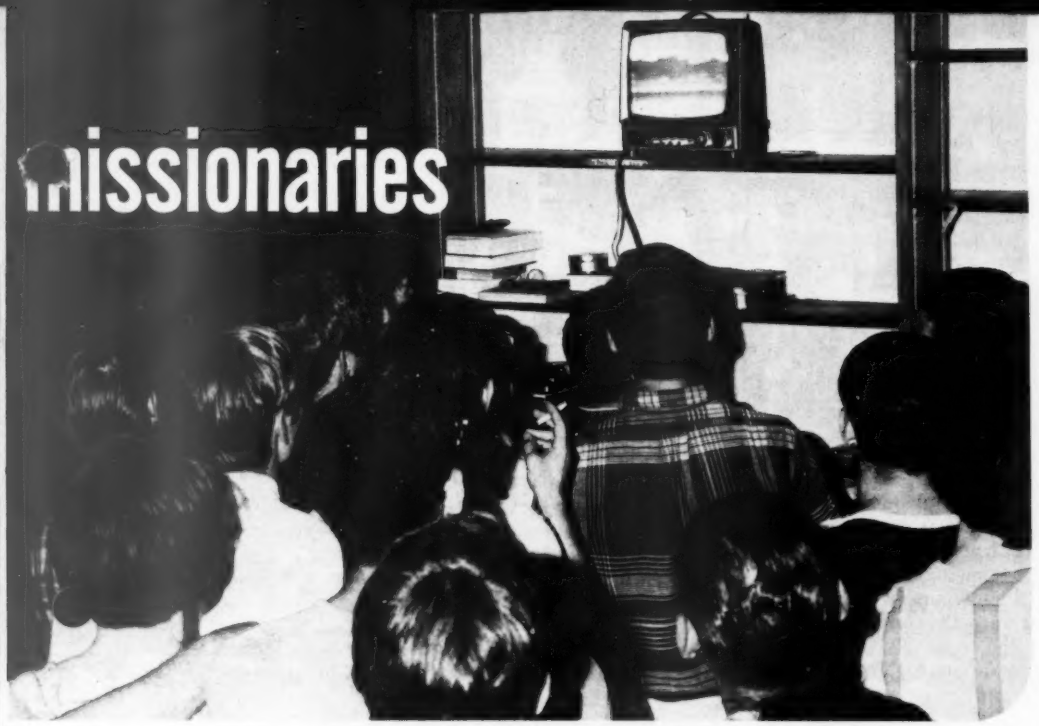
McLuhan contends that societies have been shaped more by the nature of the media by which men communicate than by the content of the communication, and that the media themselves are extensions of some human faculty, psychic or physical. The wheel, for example, is an extension of the foot; the book of the eye; clothing of the skin; electric circuitry, of the central nervous system.

A 'cool' Peace Corps

Until today, the dominant medium has been print, logical and linear—a "hot" culture of movable type. But a "cool" world of mass communication has challenged modern man and the resulting conflict, says McLuhan, has produced the "Age of Anxiety," alienation, apathy.

The antidote lies in awareness that electronic media are constantly altering man's perceptual senses. The serial logic of print is giving way to the intuitive "mosaic" patterns of

missionaries



via videotape at Dartmouth. In the global village, they will be "agents of communication."

instant, enveloping, communication. Books "contain," television "involves." The new vision is mythic, tribal, decentralized. Man lives in a global village and is returned to the values and perceptions of a preliterate culture.

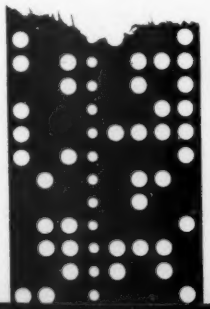
Media are hot or cool. Movies, for example, are hot, television is cool; radio is hot, the telephone is cool. Why? A hot medium is one that extends one single sense in "high definition," that is, the state of being well filled with data. Both the television and the telephone are low definition, because so little information is given and so much has to be filled in by the listener, whereas the movie and the radio project images and messages that do not leave so much to be filled in or completed by the audience.

The Peace Corps under these criteria is essentially cool. Some might challenge the old saw about it being a "24-hour-a-day" job but few will deny its continued evidence of high participation (Volunteers demand it), or its continued defiance of definition, especially on the part of individual Volunteers. Even the Peace Corps Act defies explicit definition ("big enough to drive a truck through," chief programmer Sol Chafkin used to say) and this has left Volunteers, administrators and programmers plenty of operating room. On these terms, then, the Peace Corps is a cool medium.

Yet the dilemma of the Peace Corps is that it has always been on the fence between the old, print-oriented culture, the hot one, and the new, electronic-saturated culture, the cool one. One of the more obvious illustrations of this dilemma is seen in the perennial "image" problem faced by Volunteers.

Shriver's high definition

In its early years the Peace Corps demonstrated huge inclinations toward print. Sargent Shriver stacked the agency with newspapermen, lawyers and social scientists, who in turn applied their not inconsiderable talents with prose to a mountain of descriptive material about what the Peace Corps was and what it was doing. (It is interesting that agency radio and television directors have always been writers; the educational television director is a lawyer.) To win appropriations from Congress, kudos from editorial writers, recruits for the cause and permissions from the mothers of America to let those recruits go overseas, the Peace Corps required a definition. The people who put it together did such an effective job that the Peace Corps developed what an annual report later referred to as "an engaging folklore of attractive young Americans piping the wayward masses of the underdeveloped world to the paths of progress and enlightenment."



In restrospect, the print-catering founders (assisted by a willing public) put out a hot message about a cool program. Their Peace Corps was high definition. Yet, even as they wrote, the Volunteers were establishing something completely remote from definition, intensely personal and self-discovering, individually filling in their own definitions of that ultimately cool term consisting of "Peace" and "Corps." Inevitably, their personal definitions clashed with the definitions which showed up in the hometown newspapers, the letters from mother and the latest recruiting brochures. The staff, in effect, was heating up the Peace Corps. The Volunteers were cooling it off.

The Peace Corps has learned some lessons in this area, but the tensions of definition persist. David Elliott's search for the "real" Peace Corps touched off the latest series of high

definition responses which for the most part were reduced, characteristically, to paper and print. This was another sign that the high literacy Peace Corps has a latent tendency toward hot media.

We must note that no value judgment can be rendered on the relative merits of hot or cool culture, or media. The judgments come into play over their applications. McLuhan suggests that it makes a great deal of difference whether a hot or cool medium is used in a hot or cool culture. Sample: "The hot radio medium used in cool or nonliterate cultures has a violent effect, quite unlike its effect, say in England or America, where radio is felt as entertainment. A cool or low literacy culture cannot accept hot media like movies or radio as entertainment. They are, at least, as radically upsetting for them as the cool TV medium has proved to be for our high literacy world."

Courtesy Look Magazine

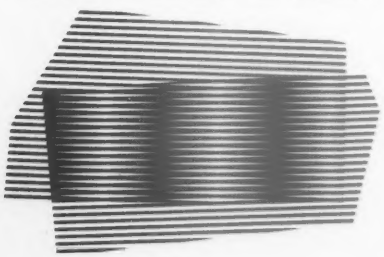
"... and then when I finally did talk my tribe into learning to read, they read Marshall McLuhan!"

Agents of communication

More basic than these relative applications of hot and cool media is the fact that the United States has paved the way in the development of electronic media and the Peace Corps Volunteer, who is coming of age with the new technology, is able in varying degrees to understand and interpret it. As a medium itself the Peace Corps is an extension of the American ego ideal, or at least of its political expression in the Kennedy era.

The Peace Corps is very much on the front lines of the electronic age. Volunteers have speeded up the exchange of information and they have expanded the global village. We can anticipate an acceleration of their collective communicative influence once the electric television generation comes to dominate the Peace Corps. Where the Volunteer has in the past been referred to as an "agent of change," it may be more accurate to call him an "agent of communication." He is a carrier of the new media, a media missionary.

By the McLuhan text, instant, worldwide information has tribalized men wherever it has been received. Men are involved with one another. Electronic circuitry provides a mosaic pattern of information which gives instant vision of a complex process. This returns man to the tribal emotions from which he has been divorced by a few centuries of literacy, to the preliterate ability to have mythical instant vision of complex processes. The result is the electronic global village, a "simultaneous happening," non-national and interdependent.



In this process, the Peace Corps Volunteer as an agent of communication has often been a first resident in the global village. He renders such phrases as "cross-cultural experience" or "transculturation" obsolete, for the global village transcends culture. Everybody is in the same tribe, the same culture.

Of course there are variations on this theme. A most striking one is in preliterate Africa, where many people are leapfrogging earlier Western media into the electronic age. To the degree that they are still tribal, they have an advantage over the Westerner, who is only beginning to retribalize. This shortcut has proven somewhat confusing to Volunteers and programmers who are just emerging from the linear, print cycle. McLuhan notes that "backward countries that have experienced little permeation with our own mechanical and specialist culture are much better able to confront and to understand electric technology." The Peace Corps has to keep that in mind in preliterate societies where it operates.

This is but one of many contradictions that keeps the Peace Corps sensitive to variable applications overseas. Internally, however, the most crucial contradiction lies in the fact that the Peace Corps remains a print-oriented society while its draws increasing sustenance from an electronic age. The senior staff belongs to the lost-in-the-library generation. The 1961-67 Volunteers matured under print-oriented, hot rote teaching in high definition surroundings. They learned how to read and write and reproduce (the Xerox machine users in headquarters are hardly confined to the over-30-year-old group). This Peace Corps has always been more attuned to the *Congressional Record* than to ABC, CBS, NBC and ETV put together.

But by 1970 or thereabouts nobody but nobody at the A.B. generalist level will even know that the *Congressional Record* exists (extreme pessimists even wonder if the electromagnetic babies will be reading at all). Listen

to McLuhan: "The young people who have experienced a decade of TV have naturally imbibed an urge toward involvement in depth that makes all the remote visualized goals of usual culture seem not only unreal but irrelevant, and not only irrelevant but anemic." Total sound, total vision—participation, dialogue and depth. Is the Peace Corps ready? "The TV child expects involvement and doesn't want a specialist *job* in the future. He does want a *role* and a deep commitment to his society."

Information rubbing

They will be the first Peace Corps generation to have grown up with television. As John S. Culkin, S.J., director of the Fordham University Center for Communications, has noted: "The TV set was waiting for them when they got home from the hospital and they liked it enough to clock 15,000 hours of viewing by high school graduation. Their psychological intake system is programmed for the moving image." Then he adds: "They are plugged into the 'now' and they want to experience it and be involved with it. They are the only people who are the native citizens of the new electronic environment."

There are signs that the Peace Corps sees the electric future and wants a slice of it. It has bought a computer, for example, which is capable of storing memories for immediate and total recall. In an instant, it will tell how many 23-year-old men with degrees in agriculture are available for Uttar Pradesh. Again, we have instant vision of a complex process, a myth, or mode of simultaneous awareness of a complex group of causes and effects. The patterns are not detached.

Cables will be getting a similar treatment. The Peace Corps generates a fraction of the 15 million words that flow in and out of the Department of State each month. A new electronic system of computers and high speed printers will absorb messages at a rate of 1,200 lines a minute, 12 times faster than teletype.

Everywhere in the global village, Peace Corps people are picking up information. When they get together—at conferences, forums, councils—information is brushed against information, and the results are occasionally startling and often effective. This process is involving; the participants love to fill in the huge gaps of information. The same rubbing of information against information operates similarly in senior staff meetings, in the Peace Corps Forum, in training programs—something is usually created out of the friction. It never happens in a lecture, but lectures (hot) are alien to the Peace Corps. Volunteers and staff have always been at their worst lecturing or listening to lectures. Peace Corps people demand high participation, fill-in, "cool" seminars, discussion groups, sensitivity training. Even Harris Wofford, the most print-conscious character in Peace Corps history, thought of the agency in terms of a "Socratic seminar."

As an agent of communication, Volunteer information carries two ways—one message about the new mass culture goes to the world in which he operates, the other message about what he sees and feels and lives gets back to the United States. Hence, there is feedback from the communicator at the frontiers of the global village. Though not alone in his potential for such feedback (every citizen of the age is feeding back something), the Volunteer's unique contribution to this process is in his geographical location, which few Americans can match.

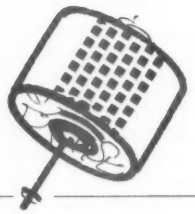
Predictably, one popular form of feedback among Volunteers is electronic tape, recorded on site with a portable recorder and forwarded to

Peace Corps people hate lectures, prefer high participation discussion groups—information brushing against information, as in the Tunisia council meeting below.

parents and friends. It is still one-way communication, heard instead of read. But, like the cool telephone, it allows a different kind of fill-in.

As Bill Boast of the India staff has said, Peace Corps people are non-national. This means that they are involved in the centralized village which cuts through archaic concepts of culture and national states. Volunteer articulation of that involvement, though occasionally inhibited and somewhat uncertain to date, may be what the third goal of the Peace Corps Act was all about. The returned Volunteers seem to be trying to say something about the global village, most recently in political expression. One reason they have not been too effective may be because they have chosen to carry their message in the arena of print, by position papers, petitions and letters to *The New York Times*. McLuhan says nationalism as an image still depends upon the press, but the electronic media is against nationalism as an image. Non-nationalists, harbingers of the global village, will never make it through letters to *The Times*.

The five-year limitation on staff appointments will probably preserve a good segment of the "cool" Peace Corps until the television generation gets its hands on it. In anticipating that day, the Peace Corps will have to keep in mind that its greatest threat is a hobgoblin called experience, namely its own experience. The tendency among the older types everywhere is to march backwards into the future, to look at that future through the rear-view mirror. As McLuhan notes, official culture is striving to force the new media to do the work of the old. That is telling a Peace Corps Volunteer to use a specialized job to teach people to read, by rote, so they can exercise individual will on the nation-state. Alas, the Volunteer knows better. The new environment requires new tools—involvement, discovery, roles (not goals) and participation. Keeping the shop tooled for the television crowd and its global village is now the most challenging task before the post-Shriver, pre-McLuhan Peace Corps.



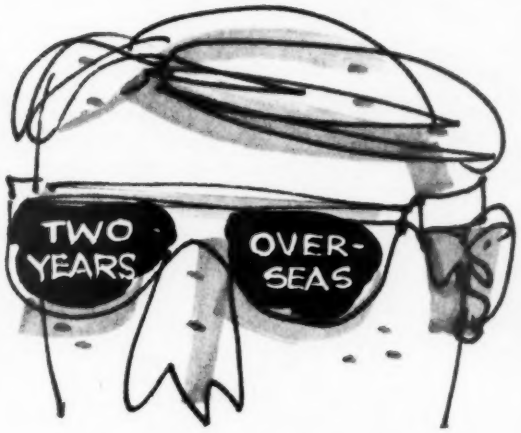
Someday there will be a television set in every booklocker and the agency will communicate living memorandums via its own communications satellite. This will put THE VOLUNTEER, The Handbook, Staff Minutes, *The Journal*, PECTO and TOPEC (agency cable codes) and letters to *The Times* out of business.

Before that happens, and while we are still lingering in the twilight of a logical, linear and literate print-oriented Peace Corps, THE VOLUNTEER would welcome further thoughts on the coming of the electronic age and the Peace Corps role in it. The above article represents but several applications of the visionary concepts of Marshall McLuhan. There are many more.

A basic primer on McLuhanism is now becoming available free of charge to Peace Corps members. *Understanding Media*, one of McLuhan's more popular books, is contained in the new booklockers being distributed around the Peace Corps village.

"There are signs that the Peace Corps sees the electric future and wants a slice of it." Below, Volunteers in Colombia ETV studio.

Seeing America afresh



As the big jet flying direct from Lagos to New York transported me from one world to another in a span of fifteen hours, I contemplated how two years abroad would alter my reactions to my native environment. Settling onto the Kennedy Airport runway, I observed my first clue through the plane window. Construction workers proceeding with manual labor seemed out of place to me. In Africa, the roles of all Westerners and Europeans rarely involved *getting their hands dirty.*

Seeing these workers led me to reflect upon the reactions of the Nigerian students while they observed me doing manual work on the school compound. I can now better understand why they regarded me with suspicion rather than with the openness I expected. They had rarely seen a white man dirty his hands before. This fact of their environment influenced their concept of social status. As a foreigner insensitive to their patterns of social mobility, I was myself responsible for arousing their suspicion.

As I considered my own surprise at witnessing white men engaged in manual work in New York I came to realize that I, too, could have a similar reaction after living in the African environment. I regretted my hasty misjudgments of the students.

As I walked through the airport terminal, I was distinctly aware of the sound of the English language. A waitress shouted: "Throw on a burger with a side of french, and a coke to go." These words, though perhaps lacking in elegance, nevertheless reminded me of a universal fact of language: namely, that words are firmly implanted in a cultural context—a context tremendously important for interpreting their meaning. Take a phrase like "fulfillment of responsibility." That phrase and others like it had passed through my mind on many occasions in the preceding months. I had termed actions of my colleagues as "irresponsible, lazy, and wasteful." But I had used these words to characterize behavior in another culture as though it were behavior in my own. I had not taken cultural context into consideration, and made judgments I was not yet qualified to make.

In consideration of how words take on meaning, I wondered how one can communicate accurately when he has not lived in the culture of the language he speaks for an extended period of time. A speaker is often guessing when he has not experienced all the environments in which the word he utters can appear.

These obstacles confronted me as I tried to learn Yoruba, the language spoken at my station. But little by little, I was able to pursue the meanings of words as I heard them used in their cultural context. On the other hand, the African learning English in Africa was limited to texts and dictionaries. No appropriate cultural context was provided for him. Consequently, I felt obliged to learn his language, rather than to expect him to communicate with me in mine.

Back in New York, after leaving the airport I was again distracted by the content of a dialog, this time between a taxi driver and a passenger. I overheard the driver interrogate the distinguished looking gentleman, "Where ya goin', mista?" Here the language was a cue to the vertical interchange between social classes which is common in America but lacking in the traditional society I recently had left. I realized that an "inside view" of English allowed me to grasp meanings which might be lost in translation.

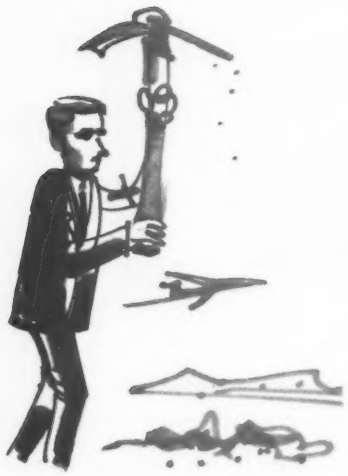
The cab roared off and I endeavored to cross the street through an area I vaguely remembered as a pedestrian crosswalk. With anxiety, I wondered if oncoming cars would acknowledge my right of way. They did and a signal of my environment was thus reinforced.

The next day, I was overwhelmed when I considered the mastery of communications accomplished by modern society. At 6 a.m. I collected milk at the door and a newspaper with the sports news of a baseball game played only six hours earlier. The phone brought news of a shuttle flying hourly from New York to Washington. I rushed to the airport wondering if I could get a flight that day. At the ticket desk, I was instructed to take a yellow ticket from a machine, board a plane through gate five in ten minutes, and to fill out the ticket on the plane. In a state of disbelief I followed instructions. My suspicion vanished as the stewardess collected my travelers' checks in flight.

Ironically, these conveniences troubled me. They impressed upon me the great power which the American industrial society has created. With the tools and abilities to organize that which we have produced, we have a great control over the material world in comparison to citizens of non-industrialized nations.

Unfortunately, making these tools work elsewhere is a complex process, as many Peace Corps Volunteers have learned. There is no straight line between the realm of the comfort of the shuttle flight between Washington

By **FRED ENGLANDER**



and New York, and that of the unskilled farmer, for example, standing beside a tractor brought to a halt because it wasn't provided with oil. Two years in the Peace Corps reinforced my realization that a tractor in the hands of an unskilled farmer is no more functional than a jet would be with an untrained pilot.

Incidents like the above awaken in the returning Volunteer a new understanding of his own culture. He gains an awareness of the comforts of his society and understanding of the difficulties inherent in introducing technological innovations to a non-industrialized society. At the same time, the marvel of an electric stove stimulates his concern for untold numbers of women and children who daily strain under heavy loads of firewood necessary for cooking. Thus the Peace Corps Volunteer who went overseas as an "agent of change" returns in the very same role. He may find himself taking a more active part in his own society due to what he has learned overseas.

At home I was distinctly aware of man's imprint upon nature, whereas in Nigeria it seemed that nature placed its imprint on man. I was overly conscious of neatly shouldered highways, paved streets, tall outgrowths of cement and parking lots. Animals were rarely visible. In Nigeria they roamed freely. While passing a grocery store, I recognized that I had gone six months without eating chicken in Nigeria. In my remote town I never saw chicken in the cellophane packages I had taken for their placenta at home.

During my two years overseas, man's dependency upon nature was always in view. Most members of a non-industrialized society devote a great part of their energies to obtaining food and shelter. Back home, nature is disguised in "synthetics" of all sorts. The average daily task in the city is far removed from the agricultural toil upon which our life is based. The goals of the developing society are generally related to fulfilling basic needs. In America, however, leisure time created through our industrial power frees our energies for other tasks. At the same time, as I recall using an electronic device to change the channel of the television set without getting up, and then using a set of weights to obtain more exercise, I recognized that technological advances weren't easily directed toward their most constructive use.

I sought to examine how two years in a Nigerian school would affect my view of a New York school. I was keenly aware of the diversity of the student body including Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, Negroes and Orientals. This environment recalled a memory of the difficulties I had encountered in making the "cross cultural scene" in Nigeria, where I was also confronted with students of different tribes and cultural backgrounds. Now I sensed an ability which Peace Corps Volunteers cultivate at their overseas stations. A Volunteer who spends two years in a foreign environment is forced as a means of survival to study the social customs, economic structures, political systems and accompanying problems of a new subculture. In detecting, analyzing and adjusting to new ways he can gain a facility to recognize and cope with structurally similar situations existing in the United States. It is this new facility, applied in one's own environment, which can be the greatest asset to a Volunteer and to the United States; it insures that the benefits of the Peace Corps experience extend beyond two years.

Even if a Volunteer shies away from the host culture, and tries to hide in a conclave of his own, he cannot escape all the influences of the host environment. The Volunteer may claim he came to do a job and that as such he does not have time to delve into the culture. But he too will experience "culture shock" when returning to the United States. This is the greatest dividend offered by the Peace Corps. The tension created through an immersion in a new culture is not only a measure of the color, depth and fascination of another way of life but also a source from which Volunteers draw the energy to improve their own society.

Fred Englander taught in Nigeria until last spring, and developed a special interest in the Yoruba language. He is now working on a graduate degree in linguistics at Michigan State University.

Costa Ricans work on road linking their towns. "A crucial part of CD skill is . . . how to understand oneself in relation to a group."

A new CD design for the generalist

A veteran staff member takes a comprehensive look at community development—Peace Corps style. Her candid views on all aspects of the subject appear on the following pages.

By **BETTY HUTCHINSON**
San Salvador, El Salvador

The Peace Corps commits the tasks of community development primarily to young liberal arts graduates with little experience, and with only three months of training crowded with minutiae. These generalists are expected to perform in a foreign country and in a foreign language with very little support or direction from either Peace Corps staff or host country nationals. It is little wonder that at best only 50 per cent of the Volunteers involved in such programs have any significant success. The average Volunteer simply does not have the experience, training and background to carry out as difficult a task as community development with the sensitivity and organizational ability that the job requires.

This does not mean that the Peace Corps cannot succeed in community development. But the way we go about it requires modification if we are going to have a significant impact worthy of the effort and money put into it.

The Peace Corps should work out its own definition of community development. In most national community development programs the field workers are citizens of the nation, and many times come from local communities. They have received specialized training, and are usually paid government employes. The Peace Corps places foreigners as field workers, Volunteers who are free to leave if they wish, and who represent the world's richest and most powerful nation. This fact alone necessitates a special definition.

The Peace Corps should establish a task force which would have the time and freedom from other responsibilities to analyze various definitions, philosophies and experiences in order to develop a satisfactory definition and approach. The task force should include national and international experts, and returned staff and Volunteers with demonstrated successful experience in community development. The task force also should develop guidelines for training, programming, supervision and quantification, all stemming from a common definition.

Programming

Programming involves the difficult process of planning the job to be done by Volunteers in cooperation with the host country agency. The Peace Corps should develop CD programs only in countries where there is a national CD agency or ministries utilizing or planning to utilize CD as an integral

The tasks of community development

- To study his community and its people so that he understands its interests and is aware of its stage of development.
- To identify the felt needs of the people as well as other needs.
- To establish and maintain cordial and constructive relationships with government officials and other members of the power structure.
- To promote the participation of all in the problem analysis and decision making process through democratic procedures.
- To help the people consider all aspects of a question, to plan and to implement a project and to evaluate the consequences of the decisions and actions they undertake.
- To maintain neutrality and objectivity in the face of pressures and factions and yet remain accessible to all.
- To stay in the background and yet be available for advice and reinforcement of positive and constructive ideas and moves.
- To help the people take the lead but recognize the moment when it becomes necessary to assume temporary leadership.
- To be familiar both with government and private sector resources and services.
- To seek and help the people use available technical advice.
- To help technicians relate to the people of the community so that their technical advice is dispensed in an acceptable and usable manner.
- To stimulate and train leaders; to encourage responsibility and planning, use of local abilities and talents; to encourage and spur on; to warn and advise.

part of their own programs. Many countries in Latin America have community development agencies. These agencies vary in their effectiveness and interest. Any agency which believes in community development and, as nearly as can be determined, has a genuine interest in using and working with Volunteers should be investigated for the possible development of projects with mutually acceptable goals.

One conference to set up a program is not enough. Good programming requires constant discussion, reviewing and working out of problems; it requires time and patience to clarify what the Volunteer's job is to be and to help the host country officials acquire a realistic conception of who a Volunteer is and what he can do.

It is important to let host country officials know that most Volunteers are not technicians. We only create ill will and disillusion by raising false expectations and make a difficult job even harder for the Volunteer.

It is vital in the planning stage to clarify what the actual job of the Volunteer will be with both top and local officials. In the planning process with the host country agencies, the low man on the totem pole, in the long run, may be more important for the effectiveness and satisfaction of the Volunteer than the top officials. It is on the local firing line where the problems are most apt to come up and more apt to be neglected. Volunteers frequently represent a threat to local officials and both need to understand each other and their roles.

Also, the host country agency should have one person at the national level who has a genuine interest in the Volunteers and with whom the Peace Corps can work. There should be one Peace Corps individual the agency can maintain contact with so the agency can be assured of attention in working out problems. Peace Corps staff should bear in mind that it is a Peace Corps responsibility to take the initiative and meet with the host country nationals.

Volunteer job assignment

A specific job that can be defined and understood by Volunteers, host country nationals and Selection and Training is essential. What are the expectations of the Peace Corps? What kind of reasonable goals can be set? How will the Volunteer work with the host country agency? What is the supervisory relationship? What is the host country agency's responsibility toward him? What is the Peace Corps' responsibility to the agency? These responsibilities should be

worked out in advance and at all levels. An understanding of the responsibilities in writing is valuable for future reference in view of frequent changes of personnel and assignment of new Volunteers. It also is useful for the Volunteer in describing and explaining his function.

It is my belief that Peace Corps CD programs will be more successful if Volunteers are trained in a specific skill instead of "general community development." If the Volunteer is working in agriculture it helps if he can say he is going to show the use of fertilizers. If he is placed with a health agency it might help if he can say: "My job is to teach better nutrition." To be able to say in a few words what he is going to do is reassuring to the people in his site and to the Volunteer. The Volunteer has a specific function and forestalls the suspicion aroused by a *gringo* who moves into town with no visible occupation or way of earning a living. Vague phrases such as "I have come to help you" or "I have come to work in community development" do not help the people in the site understand the Volunteer, and the Volunteer generally cannot make an adequate explanation in Spanish of the how, why or what of community development, at least in the beginning. A specific function also gives the Volunteer a task on which to focus. Not knowing what to do is one of the most intolerable aspects of the Volunteer's early months on his assignment.

Training

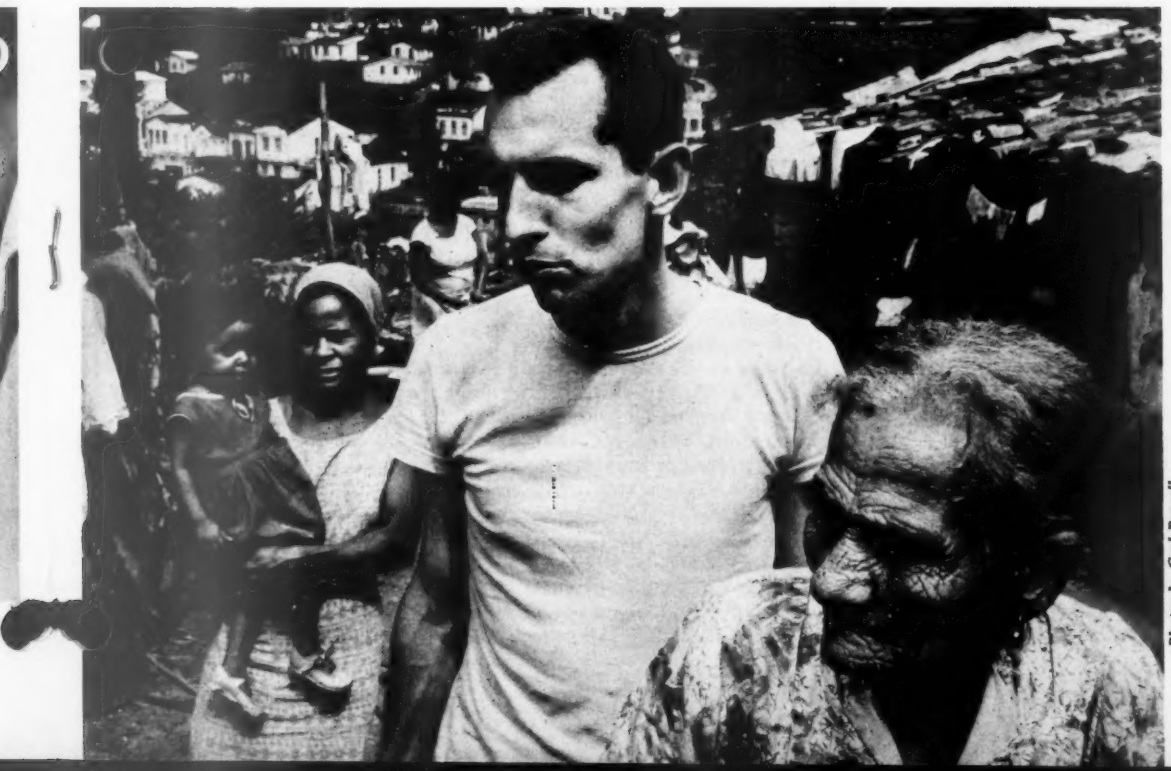
Training, in many instances, has been a hodge-podge of subjects and materials which in the long run has not added up to anything specific. Community development training programs have been designed to cram too much theory into the Volunteer. In many ways the field is guilty of contributing to this hodge-podge with its shopping list requesting that Volunteers get training and experience in every kind of skill and situation. Terminating Volunteers add to this when they say: "We should have had training in this," etc. Such advice comes out of their individual situations and the inadequacies they have felt. Their general comments, given repeatedly, of more language, fewer lectures and more practical training should be heeded. Apart from that, three months of training can only accomplish a few things well.

This training should encompass language (a number one priority) and a thorough grounding in the principles and methods of community development.

A crucial part of CD skill is how to study a community; how to locate and use technical and material resources, how to work with groups, how to motivate people, how to develop leadership, how to understand oneself in relation to a group. This kind of learning takes place through theoretical principles plus the opportunity to put these principles into practice under supervision in a field situation. Many Volunteers working in communities carry out isolated projects with no discipline or consciousness of where they are going, and how the project relates to the overall development of the community. The use of audiovisual aids as learning devices and a knowledge of group dynamics are tools of the trade of the community developer.

Field work is an essential part of training. It makes theoretical concepts come alive and it gives the trainee a chance to test himself against a reality that may be similar to the one he will encounter. It also

In Salvador, Brazil, Rose Mary Hooper (left) observes worker in a locally financed costume jewelry factory which she helped start; Jeff Boyer (below) walks with neighbor. "The Volunteer . . . must learn to analyze a situation, set reasonable goals and priorities and follow a conscious plan toward their achievement."



Photos by Carl Purcell

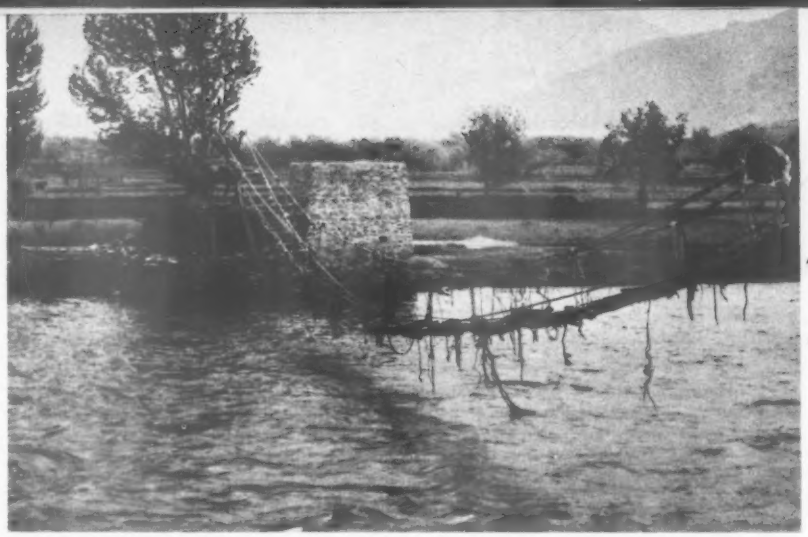
gives Training and Assessment personnel a chance to see how an individual reacts to the pressures he will encounter. Many trainees select themselves out after having had the experience of living in an area similar to that in which they will work. Field experiences in Mexico, Spanish-speaking city slums and Indian reservations are extremely valuable and should be included in all training programs. Discussion and case study methods, role playing and other dynamic learning techniques should be emphasized rather than lecture methods which perpetuate the structured college experience of most of the trainees.

Practical skill training is also a priority. The skill should be related to the agency to which the Volunteer will be attached or to the focus of the community development program: agricultural skills for an ag program or agricultural extension service program; health skills for health agency Volunteers; co-ops for co-op formation and education.

If the program is generalized community development with no particular focus and under the auspices of a community development ministry or governmental agency, then a decision should be made by the field staff and the agency as to what skill should be taught to the Volunteers to serve as an entrée to the community. Since many of the Volunteers will not be able to proceed beyond this start, a fairly thorough grounding in one skill should be given so that they can do it well and with a confidence which will give them a role in their communities. In a general CD program, perhaps the trainees can be divided into small groups, each to learn a specific skill in keeping with its past experience and interest.

The Volunteer must learn that he cannot do effective CD if he does not know his community. He must go through the conscious and disciplined process of getting the facts and analyzing them.

Of equal importance to the Volunteer is knowing how to proceed once he has finished his study of the community, or while he continues his study, as learning about a community continues throughout the process of living in and working with it. He must learn to analyze a situation, set reasonable goals and priorities and follow a conscious plan toward their achievement. The Volunteer must acquire the understanding of community development as an integrated process and not an accumulation of isolated projects.



Combined efforts of villagers, local government, Peace Corps and AID led to reconstruction of "Bridge of the Cricket" north of Tegari, Afghanistan. "The Volunteer who takes

Training for CD in 12 to 13 weeks is a Herculean task. If we are to continue and perfect community development the training cannot stop when the Volunteers arrive overseas. Continued in-service training should be provided through reading and small-group discussions led by a knowledgeable staff person or community development expert. Group conferences should be devoted to further seminar-type learning, possibly led by a CD expert or by the training institution. The Peace Corps should employ CD experts on a consultant basis, both to provide consultation for staff and Volunteers and to lead seminars in the country for both.

Selection

It used to be, and still is to a certain extent, that if one could not fit in anywhere else he could do CD. The applicants with the strongest record of group work, organizational and leadership abilities should be assigned to general CD. Volunteers with less drive and organizing ability are acceptable for assignments to more specific jobs within the community development program.

For community development programs the Peace Corps needs aggressive, dynamic, intuitive, self starters who are not reluctant to take the initiative, to seek out people, to start talking and relating, and who are able to use the information they gather to develop and carry out a plan of action. The recent college graduate, if he has not worked or assumed initiative and responsibility in some kind of activity, is not going to be able to do this.

People with the following backgrounds lend themselves more readily to community development work: *lawyers* (they have to get information, analyze it, convince people, etc.); *anthropologists* (they are interested in culture, curious, and have often done field work in remote areas); *social workers* (they are used to gathering facts and trying to understand why people behave the way they do and trying to influence people to help themselves—the best social workers are group workers or community organizers); *recreation workers* (they are used to working with people in groups and promoting cooperation and team work); *extension workers* (they are used to promoting new ideas and methods); *politicians* (they are used to working with people, organizing them and influencing them —they need not be high ranking politicians but may have worked in campaigns); *teachers* (they have experience in dealing with people and know how to get across ideas effectively); *health educators* (they are aware of the effects of culture and attitudes and have a community-wide approach to their work).

Trainees should be counselled out of a training program if it becomes obvious that they are not going to be able to do the CD job. Anyone who does not demonstrate initiative, who needs support to get along, who is immature, or makes no progress in the language is doomed to failure or at

an exaggerated attitude against outside assistance may be a detriment to a community that, without the Volunteer's interference, might be able to get badly needed help."

best to sitting out two years as a "drone." Some of these people might work out in other types of more structured and specific assignments and should be put into them. All Volunteers classified as "high risk-high gain" should be given a chance to go overseas.

Supervision

All Volunteers are caught in the difficult situation of trying to please two sets of bosses—the ones with their host country agency and the ones with their Peace Corps staff. In theory, it is the host country agency supervisor who is responsible for the Volunteer's daily work. In actual fact, the Volunteer is subject to pressures to perform according to what may be two opposite points of view. In some community development situations the Volunteer may have relative freedom from both staff and host country nationals. But he is apt to have a much closer daily contact with host country nationals than with Peace Corps staff, and the effectiveness of his work, in the long run, will be more dependent on his getting along with host country nationals than with his associate director.

The whole matter of supervision and control of the Volunteer requires a sensitive balance of interest, status and authority. While the country director cannot guide the day to day work, neither can he abdicate his responsibility for the well being of the Volunteer. This requires understanding, constant discussion and working out problems case by case. Helping the host country agency understand the nature of voluntarism and explaining that the Volunteer is free to go home if he is dissatisfied may help the agency put the Volunteer in perspective and help him work satisfactorily.

The Peace Corps staff person has to get the stuck Volunteer started, help the Volunteer think of and use resources, help the Volunteer see when he is running the show instead of helping the community run the show, when he is harming host country relations and know when he needs to be left alone and when he needs help. The staff member must have patience and time for prolonged and thoughtful discussion. This means a reasonable ratio of Volunteers—30 to 40—to each staffer. He has to help the Volunteer see where progress has been made and understand the value of the slow, frustrating approach. He has to help smooth the way between the Volunteer and host country nationals. He has to be able to spot the Volunteer who really doesn't have it to do CD, but who could make out in a structured and more specific assignment, and get him moved. It is not enough to tell a Volunteer who cannot get started to "get moving;" he also has to be able to tell the Volunteer how to move, what to try, and where to try.

One of the staff member's important responsibilities is that of obtaining special skilled help for the Volunteer from host country or Peace Corps sources. The staff member cannot be an expert in everything, but he should know where the Volunteer can get the expert in forestry, in rabbit raising, in construction, in irrigation, etc. Many current projects include plans for specialists such as engineers, architects, co-op and agricultural experts to backstop the Volunteer when such aid is not available from the host agency. It is an excellent way to help A.B. generalists work more effectively and with greater confidence.

The ability of a staff member to stimulate initiative, develop individual ability and to inspire a Volunteer to give his best is of far greater value than having a series of practical skills. Training in techniques of supervision and personnel development is essential for staff members. Staff, too, needs to learn and develop through seminars or short courses with CD experts who can focus on the supervisory aspect of successful programs. Staff members cannot give to Volunteers out of a vacuum. They must first have knowledge and skill and confidence to be able to pass these qualities on to Volunteers.

Use of material resources

Staff needs to help the Volunteer maintain a balanced point of view toward the use of material resources. Most national community development programs eventually provide some sources of funds for special projects. It is unrealistic to assume that impoverished communities are going to be able to raise all the funds necessary to meet project needs. The Volunteer who takes an exaggerated attitude against outside assistance may be a detriment to a community that, without the Volunteer's interference, might be able to get badly needed help. On the other hand, the Volunteer who by his own efforts gets material goods bestowed on the community perpetuates the notion that it takes an influential outsider to do things for the community.

Generally, CARE and Embassy special project help is available to communities and has been long before the Peace Corps appeared on the horizon. It will continue to be available should the Peace Corps be withdrawn from a country. The important factors to stress are: how to help the community learn about resources, and to meet the requirements for them and how to apply for assistance. The Volunteer who helps a community learn these facts has opened a channel of communication to sources of help which can continue long after he has left the scene. Needed resources which fit into an integrated plan involving the people do not destroy in-

dependence any more than federal grants to states and communities in the U.S. for roads, water supplies, sewage systems and poverty programs. The tailoring of available resources to community needs fulfills the U.N. definition of community development by uniting the efforts of the people with those of government and the private sector.

Urban vs. rural CD

In my opinion the basic process of CD is the same whether in rural or urban areas. The same skill in working with people is needed. There may be a difference in emphasis in the city, certainly greater difficulty in defining a community, greater divisiveness and confusion on the part of the people, a different pace and timing. It is harder for the Volunteer in the city to be accepted, and for him to find where to take hold. Elemental needs are not always evident. There already is some organization. It takes greater drive, skill and persistence for the urban CD Volunteer to succeed. It is in this area where a specific skill can be most useful to the Volunteer in establishing credibility and giving him something constructive to do while he gathers information, sorts it out and is able to work out a strategy of action. The more sophisticated the urban area the greater the ability and drive requirements of the Volunteer.

Urban CD has proved to be more difficult than rural CD in the Peace Corps experience. Therefore, it requires greater care in programming, selection, training and supervision. Only strong Volunteers from among CD types should be placed in such a program. Each Volunteer should have a specific, practical skill besides his CD skill. The ratio of staff to Volunteers should be lower—1 staffer to 20 or 25 Volunteers.

The nature of the urban CD process will be complicated by the fact that it is harder to determine felt needs. There may be too many conflicting needs. People are away from the community at work and it is harder to get them together in group meetings. There may be a great need of establishing a community identity among suspicious people who do not know each other. This may require defining several communities within a large urban area. The job may involve coordinating already existing organizations rather than creating new organizations. In any case it requires much more thought and practice to decide the best ways to use Volunteers in community development in urban areas.

Evaluation

One of the most difficult tasks is to evaluate the results of community development activities and to measure their effects. At present we do not have any precise ways of quantifying results. One can count miles of roads built, schools built, etc.; they are the easiest to see and both staff and Volunteers fall into the trap of judging CD work in terms of how much of this kind of work has been accomplished. But community development has taken place if people are participating, if more children attend school and more people use the health center, if people have been able to go to a government office to discuss a problem or ask for a service, if literacy teaching is under way.

Some means of evaluating the results of CD will have to be devised that does not place values on material accomplishments only. A combination of statistics, such as the number of meetings held and growth of attendance at them, school attendance, number of visits by government technical officials, amount and value of material resources coming into the community, participation in elections,

agricultural production figures, real value of construction projects in terms of materials and donated labor at the going rate of wages, use of health services and morbidity statistics, etc., will give an overall picture. Such facts must be judged periodically to determine how the community rated at the time the Volunteer arrived and how it rates at the time of his departure. Finally, is the community affected by two or three generations of Volunteers?

How to measure results in CD is something that both staff and Volunteers will have to learn and experiment with. Producing results in order to get appropriations is increasingly more necessary. The task force should make recommendations as to how this might be accomplished in future CD programs. For the time being we should make an attempt to measure what is happening now.

Betty Hutchinson is the Peace Corps director in El Salvador. She holds a B.A. in sociology and an M.A. in social work. Her previous Peace Corps experience includes serving as associate director in Colombia and deputy director in El Salvador. She is one of the first two women to serve as country directors.

From the Dominican Republic: Rick Kauffman (left) vaccinates child against TB. Below and at right, Dominican citizens. "Some means of evaluating the results of CD will have to be devised that does not place values on material accomplishments only."

Photos by John Terence Turner

The importance of guiding trainees

An unstructured training program is not the same thing as an unadministered training program. That is the basic lesson the Peace Corps should learn from its experience with "unstructured" training in Puerto Rico.

The failure to replace leadership with guidance put the Peace Corps in the position of the father who was so disappointed with the preparation for life his first daughter obtained in convent schools that he told her younger sister to make her own way in the world as soon as she was toilet trained. An in-between approach, where trainees receive guidance as they make their own decisions, would seem to be called for.

But the message the trainees got was: train yourself as you wish. There was no curriculum. Staff members could be used as resources as the trainees created their own program. But when trainees asked to share in the staff's knowledge of co-ops they were rebuffed. In an unstructured program, they were told, one looked such things up in books. Obviously the program was as undefined as it was unstructured. The essential part of the question—informal but competent guidance—was missing. Thus trainees were given a chance to find themselves. But if they became lost, some staff members were willing to wait indefinitely to see if they would get back on the right track. If they didn't, their erratic course would ultimately be terminated.

This wait-and-see attitude was evident in field training. Like the entire program, the fuzzily-defined goal was good and the execution was shabby. Each trainee spent three weeks with a rural family teaching himself about community development by making surveys and examining local problems. Those who started off on the right foot grew with the experience. Those who made a desultory start never caught up.

One trainee spent a very relaxed time until his first "regular staff visit" finally occurred at the end of the second week. By this time he had wasted two-thirds of the experience. The staff member, apparently an admirer of Calvin Coolidge, said nothing about the debacle. "The business of training is the trainee's," he seemed to believe. But all was not lost. Two days before the end of field training there was another visit, this time by a more outspoken staff man. The trainee performed well for the remaining two days.

He had been ignorant. It is the duty of the staff to mold such trainees into Volunteers, not by waiting until there is hardly any time left to practice what is preached.

The primary prerequisite for a successful training program is a staff that understands and appreciates what is being done. In Puerto Rico, as the co-op example shows, the staff did not understand the program. Not understanding it, staffers were as uncomfortable as the trainees and made no secret of their dissatisfaction. They saw that trainees were given enough rope to hang themselves. They did not realize that they were supposed to suggest how one could escape before the noose became too tight.

Trainees should be allowed to explore blind alleys. This is relevant to what they will experience as Volunteers. On the other hand, they should not be allowed to stay in unproductive ruts indefinitely.

The trainee approach to co-ops is indicative of the problem. Seeing themselves as comprising a community comparable to the rural sites they would be assigned to, the trainees attempted to organize one another in co-ops. The whole concept was riddled with fuzzy thinking. Their effort was wasted. A community developer cannot expect to form a co-op as an opener, for it is a lengthy process. What the new Volunteer needs is a few opening gimmicks (like how to improve local crops quickly and cheaply) to win community confidence and make later, larger projects, like co-ops, feasible. Between the time initial interest is indicated and a co-op is created, the Volunteer has enough time to take a co-op cram course.

The trainee effort was invalid on other grounds. Each member of the group was trying to be a non-directive

By JIM JAFFE *Solalá, Guatemala*

A scene from Puerto Rico (1965): The trainee needs to try his wings but he must be helped to avoid repetitive crash landings.

Photo by Paul Reed

leader. There was a surplus of leaders. Further, these college-educated people could not hope to respond to the suggestion of a co-op like illiterate *campesinos* do. They could not react to their fellow trainees as people respond to a Volunteer who is an outsider in their communities and has difficulty with their language. If the Volunteers could have accurately simulated *campesino* reaction, the training would have been unnecessary. And what Volunteer has ever failed in his attempts to form a co-op because all the potential members were already so involved in other co-ops that they had no time for the new effort?

Granted that the trainees were learning by doing. This would also be true if they had tried to assemble computer memory cores and such an experience would have been only slightly less relevant.

The nervous staff committed the same sin as the eccentric parent did —it was not consistent. While some follies were allowed to run their course, others were guillotined. This happened when the women were told to create their own domestic skills training program. Their schedule was received without comment, but was suddenly revised two weeks later when the staff made its displeasure known by issuing a new schedule.

Moderation was seen as a quality to be avoided. Either the staff or the trainees would run things. But having trainees create their own program with guidance from the staff was somehow out of the question. Perhaps the staff did not want to put their proposals on the line and risk trainee rejection.

Trainees shared this all-or-nothing view. Some became enraged when they were told to fill out peer rating forms just a few weeks after learning that they could construct their own program. They thought they had been conned. At best, the policy of painting a black-and-white picture had left them misinformed. The program should have been better defined from the start. The definition should have included a precise statement of where responsibilities lay. Without such a definition, the program was doomed.

Community developers are left to their own devices within general guidelines defined by country staffs. A Volunteer who seems to be foundering is given guidance rather than being allowed to meander for months and then suddenly receiving an airline ticket to Washington.

In a realistic training program, the trainee should be put in the same position. He needs the opportunity to try his wings, but he must be helped to avoid repetitive crash landings.

Jim Jaffe, a VOLUNTEER *correspondent, and his wife, Vicki, are "alumni" of the unstructured training program in Puerto Rico. They have been in Guatemala for almost a year.*

Volunteers leave Midwest Nigeria

Peace Corps operations in the Midwestern State of Nigeria were suspended in mid-August. The evacuation of 127 Volunteers and 11 staff members followed by three weeks the Peace Corps withdrawal from the breakaway Republic of Biafra, which borders the Midwest.

Peace Corps officials in Lagos ordered the withdrawal from the Midwest because the "uncertainty of the situation put the safety of the Volunteers in jeopardy." This decision followed the closing of schools and growing problems in maintaining other projects, which left most of the Volunteers without jobs. Country director John McConnell said he regarded the withdrawal of the Volunteers with regret but expressed hope that the Peace Corps would be able to return to the Midwestern State.

After they were evacuated to Lagos, most of the Volunteers accepted assignments in other African nations. A total of 329 Volunteers continued serving in the Western and Northern States of Nigeria.

Meantime, two groups which had trained for service in Nigeria during the summer were posted in other nations, and two fall programs slated for Nigeria were cancelled.

Bomb injures three

Ruy Ribeiro, 40, a Brazilian employed by the Peace Corps, lost his right hand and suffered abdominal injuries when a bomb exploded at the entrance to the agency's office in Rio de Janeiro on August 1. Two Volunteers were slightly injured by the blast.

An unidentified passerby deposited the bomb in an innocent-looking package outside headquarters and Ribeiro was hurt as he picked it up. It was presumed to be a politically inspired act directed against the Peace Corps, but authorities were unable to find the perpetrators.

Helen Kelm, a Volunteer in Brazil, and Patricia Yander, a former Volunteer from El Salvador who was traveling through the country at the time, were hospitalized with minor injuries.

LETTERS TO THE VOLUNTEER

Be yourself

To The Volunteer:

I'd like to express agreement with David Fraley (May) that the Volunteer is an individual and should be treated as one. I think the person who is permitted to be himself will be a great aid to the people around him. At this point the question arises, can the Volunteer be himself? If he wants to try a project that has never been considered, he realizes that he's unconventional in the eyes of the Peace Corps society; he becomes conscious that the spotlight is on him. The possibilities of failure, public ridicule, and perhaps being terminated early occur to him. Why should he feel this way?

I don't think you can point to anyone in particular, but to the whole Peace Corps society—the offices, the hierarchy of officials, the conferences and in a few words, that which is symbolic of the Peace Corps establishment abroad. You realize the need to be silent about what you would like to be private. "Whisper," as a grandmother used to say, "the neighbors will hear."

I think better conditions for individuality would come with a reduction of this gross aspect of the Volunteer's life. In short, give the Volunteer more freedom.

Jesse Rosenbloom

Madras, India

Who needs definition?

To The Volunteer:

The Peace Corps is endlessly being defined, and writers have become obsessed with such words as "image" and "role," suggesting of course that there is no one image, no one role. And I don't think we need apologize for this lack of definition, for we are dealing with many countries and communities, all with unique problems that require distinct approaches.

Your publication would be of greater interest if it concerned itself more with accounts of specific projects around the world than with these innocuous meanderings, these intangible definitions which inappropriately represent the mentality of the classroom.

Joseph Lurie

Kerugoya, Kenya

On femininity

To The Volunteer:

There are a few things I would like to say about femininity in female Volunteers.

I find that my enjoyment of and tendency to wait for the man to open

Try an existential approach?

By LENNY KATA

The tax paying American public, hosts in the Peace Corps countries, Peace Corps staff and Volunteers continue to seek a credible expression of what the Peace Corps is. The attempts to provide this expression have been unsuccessful, primarily because most definitions of the Peace Corps are personal ones.

The problem does not lie in the absence of definitions, for comprehensive and well informed ideas about what the Peace Corps is exist in the minds of many persons. Instead, the problem arises from the lack of a common statement, or perhaps the lack of an expression that is semantically shared. At present, most attempts at definitions or statements of goals are drawn from individuals' experiences. If we consider the myriad of alternative definitions, it is no wonder that little agreement can be reached on these statements.

On another plane, general and comprehensive definitions of the Peace Corps, such as those offered by David Elliott, have accomplished little in the attempt to accumulate our wide experience into clearly defined expressions which hold relevance for the Volunteer and for the tax paying public.

For example, the Peace Corps has defined itself as a vehicle to further the understanding by Americans of other people and them of us. Also, it is said that a purpose of the Peace Corps is to contribute to the social and economic development of nations which have chosen to launch such an attempt for themselves. In addition, the Peace Corps has been described as an organized and functional expression of human love. And some of us feel that our efforts will result in the establishment of a peaceful international community.

These expressions are inclusive statements of the long-run results expected from the efforts of many individuals working in differing projects in various countries of the world. Those efforts precede the realization of the goals. The stated goals are statements of the expected cumulative effect of the efforts of many individual Volunteers who pursue a more specific set of objectives or sub-goals which over time will lead to the realization of the generally stated goals.

Therefore, any tenable and temporal definition of the Peace Corps will have to be phrased in a set of objectives and sub-goals which individual Volunteers pursue and which

doors, hail cabs, buy the tickets, carry the heavy things, etc., is on the increase the longer I am here. I was perhaps a little on the independent side when I arrived, due undoubtedly to the training syndrome of "Dutch treat." Now, I expect the Volunteer or situation to definitely indicate that it's a pay-your-way movie or whatever. With the host country nationals, this procedure doesn't exist and I think that most of the male Volunteers are slowly getting the point.

For example, suppose you're with a young man who speaks terrible Spanish. Who needs the experience in speaking more? He does, of course. Who will take the most pride in being the one to do the talking?—no question, really. Afterwards you can comment on his marvelous handling of the situation and his pride should make up for any minor inconveniences which might have resulted. After all, since when does a woman want to be the model of authority?

Another problem mentioned by Rosalie Le Count (July issue) was that of living alone and having to manage the daily routine. Many girls do not feel this is a problem when they keep in mind that there are usually one or more *caballeros* in the crowd who will notice how suavely they are managing even though they appear to be so helpless.

When I first arrived I was annoyed by the men who spoke to me in the streets. I didn't appreciate being told I was beautiful when I'm not. Now, when I'm walking along absorbed by the busy routine of the day, it gives me a marvelous feeling of being alive to have a man take a second look, and with admiration in his eyes, tell me how I've impressed him. We know when he speaks that I'm not really beautiful, but something in my appearance, my walk, the dress I'm wearing, is being appreciated. This alone is enough to encourage any girl to look feminine, wear attractive clothing and to walk gracefully.

I think that in Latin American culture a woman can't help knowing she's a woman and, may I add, the fellows seem to be acculturating pretty well, too.

DIANA WILSON

Guayaquil, Ecuador

An oldster's experience

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

The July article, "An oldster speaks out," has evoked a response from me as an oldster. When an Indianapolis newspaper came out with the announcement of the "elderly" Mrs. Matthews volunteering for Peace Corps service, some of my friends wrote me in protest. "You are not elderly. We resent that word," they said. But when in training at Brandeis University last summer we were asked to give ourselves a nickname, I, as a joke, wrote *Abuelita* (grandma). No one had ever called me that but surely, I thought, I am an *abuelita* among these 113 young people. I thought they would also learn to recognize the Spanish word. But one trainee thought this was actually

remain common throughout the many host communities in which Volunteers work. Such a common denominator would provide a mode of expression that all Peace Corps members could share. This denominator would also place the agency's long-run goals in a perspective of relevance to the immediate and personal experience of the Volunteer.

In order to formulate such an expression, I suggest that we examine the circumstances which lead to a request for Volunteers and the manner in which Volunteers accomplish the objectives outlined in a host nation's request.

A request for Volunteers implies that the inviting government is in sympathy with the long-run goals of the Peace Corps and has launched programs of self-help in which Volunteers could participate in a contributing and substantive manner. The fact that the Peace Corps is invited to help people help themselves suggests that its assistance to host communities could answer needs or fulfill wants which they have defined for themselves. The Peace Corps seeks to help in the attainment of the objectives of satisfying host country needs or fulfilling wants. The successful answering of those needs, i.e., the accomplishment of an objective, will contribute over time in the realization of goals which Peace Corps and some nations have adopted.

I propose that the present inability to define the Peace Corps except in very general terms can be compensated for by defining ourselves in terms of the way we pursue our goals. I will demonstrate the possibilities of this method by citing the similarity of the approach of Volunteers toward the accomplishment of their objectives under apparently dissimilar circumstances:

In one instance, a Volunteer is invited to India to develop a small poultry industry in a community which wants or needs small poultry projects. The community responds to his efforts by raising successful units. The consequence of his efforts is that a need or a want is filled.

In another case, a Volunteer is invited to Latin America to work in community development. Upon establishing himself in the community, he becomes attached to a community organization which requests his help in the construction of a statue of the community founder. The Volunteer is able to organize their resources and the statue is built.

In both cases the resolution of a need or want will contribute to the realization of goals which a host community has set for itself and is attempting to secure along with the participation of the Volunteer.

Although a myriad of possibilities exists for contributing to the realization of long-run goals of the Peace Corps and its hosts, the pursuit of individual Volunteers has the temporal similarity of helping people accomplish objectives that they have selected for themselves. The cumulative effect of accomplishing those objectives, i.e., the resolving of needs and wants, will contribute to the realization of the long-run goals of the Peace Corps and its hosts. Finally, this process will allow the Peace Corps to define itself in the way that it works in the pursuit of the long-run goals.

Lenny Kata, formerly a staff member in Bombay, India, and Washington, is a program officer at the new Peace Corps training center at Escondido, Calif. He was previously a Volunteer in India, and he holds degrees in psychology and business administration from the University of Connecticut.

my name and asked if I'd mind if she called me Abby.

So began my contacts with young people in the Peace Corps, which has proved to be one of the most enjoyable and rewarding periods of my life. For those who love adventure and have an intense curiosity and love people, there is nothing that gives greater satisfaction. No young person has ever made me feel that I belong to another generation, or two back. They seem to respect the spirit and overlook the obvious bodily changes which the years are bound to make. I have since been called *Abuelita* by the governor of Tolima and heads of departments but all say it with a smile. I take it as an honor that they have accepted me as one of the family. Nowhere along the line have I been refused participation, even in sports, which have never been my forte. But I can out-walk any of my young companions or keep up with them in exercise.

Since the language was no barrier, having taught it for some 30 years, I could soon identify with the people here whom I love and appreciate. The Latins are warm and friendly and one soon identifies with the existing culture if he has learned through the years to bend rather than break on what cannot be changed.

My work in literacy has been very challenging. There remains much to be done but for a person who has experienced the joys and privileges of life and shared in its frustrations and tragedy, a new adventure not imposed but sought after is most rewarding.

REKA MATTHEWS

Mariquita, Tolima
Colombia

The 'unstructured' slum

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I just finished reading Steve Lawrence's article, "The quiet death of a training concept" (July). As an alumnus of a similar training program held last year in Puerto Rico, I wish to say that in almost every way the training experienced there is relevant today to the problems that I face in South America.

The end result of a training program should not be the obtainment of data, facts, or information, but should be to give to the trainee the type of environment which will have in it as many experiences as possible which are similar to those that he or she will encounter once in the country.

The Peace Corps need not continue its search for a structured type of environment when every country in the world has already provided us with one. It's not called a college or university—it's called a slum, and it doesn't have much of any "structured programming."

RONALD CHASE WEEKS GOFF

Lima, Peru

The teaching challenge

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

Congratulations on your July issue, particularly the article "Wanted! Peace Corps Teaching in Africa," by John Coyne. Teachers in Ghana have often complained that THE VOLUNTEER tends to have a one-sided emphasis in favor of community development, to the detriment of teaching. Thus it is refreshing to see an article which, while recognizing the difficulties inherent in teaching, accepts these difficulties as a challenge rather than dismissing teachers as second-class Volunteers.

TIMOTHY W. CRAINE

Accra, Ghana

A complex issue

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I was somewhat troubled by Mr. Engelberg's article, "Professionalism vs. image," which appeared in the July issue. My reaction, probably shared by others, was that his conference group oversimplified the issue. Even if they did come to the conclusion he suggests about "professionalism," several variables seem to have been overlooked.

First, he suggests that all Peace Corps assignments are specific in that the Volunteer can go right to work at one task upon arrival. Actually, many jobs are nebulous. Often the primary job is an outgrowth of a totally different assignment, and being "the man of the people" helps to get the employment.

Second, his group dissociates "the man of the people" from the job-oriented Volunteer. This approach does not begin to work in many situations. Although a teacher or an agency worker *may* have better results by detaching him or herself from the students or business associates, a rural community development Volunteer, for example, most likely will not. All Volunteers should not be lumped into the same category because *one* social worker in Mr. Engelberg's group made friends for two years and nothing else. That sounds like her problem. While some "professional reserve" has its merits for all Volunteers, it is dangerous to generalize that all Volunteers are jeopardizing their job status by being "the man of the people." Often they are enhancing it.

Third, his group feels that after winning "strictly professional relationships, the friends will follow naturally, for what is a more solid basis for friendship than mutual respect?" True, some foreigners respond favorably to this approach but others do not. Whereas "bluffing" competence and restraining friendships are profitable within certain social and cultural settings, these tactics employed elsewhere might be tantamount to professional suicide.

Thus, let us take another look at the A.B. generalist. *Where* he goes, *what* he does and *whom* he works with will, to a large extent, determine his behavior, but ultimately he has to figure it out for himself.

ANDREW D. COHEN
Former Volunteer

Stanford, Calif.

Legal office needed

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

As a Peace Corps lawyer, currently serving in the Somali Republic, I read with great interest Mr. Salacuse's article entitled, "Lawyers have a Volunteer role" (July). I agree with his conclusion that lawyers do belong in the Peace Corps. However, I don't think that the Peace Corps is providing them with the professional support necessary to make their contribution to the host country as meaningful and effective as it could be.

I suggest that the Peace Corps establish a separate office, staffed by a lawyer, to coordinate the entire Peace Corps legal program—from the planning and training stage through providing in-country support. Something certainly has to be done about the planning of legal programs. It was so negligently and haphazardly

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Letters on subjects of general interest to the Peace Corps are welcome. Letters are subject to condensation.

handled for my own program, that two of the three lawyers sent here quit in frustration after a little under one year's service, having been given totally misleading and inaccurate job descriptions from the outset.

The many projects that Mr. Salacuse mentions require financial assistance. In most cases, the Peace Corps lawyer has been sent to the host country precisely because there is a lack of trained legal personnel, decent courtrooms, judges, law teachers, libraries, law journals and court reports. Hampered by the more pressing needs, the host country cannot give the judiciary the priority it deserves in the building of a nation. The Peace Corps may not be able to provide direct financial support under its existing law of establishment, but it certainly can do more than it is now doing. The creation of the Office of Peace Corps Legal Coordinator would be a big step in the right direction. He could persuade local bar associations, book publishers, law libraries and courts to contribute law books. He could approach international law clubs of various law schools to do specifically needed legal research projects for Peace Corps lawyers serving where law library facilities are inadequate. He could organize conferences between Peace Corps and other American lawyers serving abroad under Ford Foundation or SAILER auspices. These conferences would not only add to the exchange of legal materials between countries but also build up contacts between members of the legal communities of the host countries. He could solicit financial support from Bar Associations and private sources for worthwhile legal programs to be supervised by the Peace Corps lawyers in the field. In general the legal office could serve as an initiator and coordinator of the many activities that the American legal profession would be able and willing to provide, to support Peace Corps lawyers serving abroad.

MARTIN R. GANZGLASS
Mogadishu, Somali Republic

Phase III

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I finished my two-year tour with the Peace Corps in Iran in June. At least I thought I had finished. But when I got home, I found that my tour had merely entered another phase: that of the Returned Volunteer.

Memorandum

TO : The field DATE: October, 1967
FROM : The editors
SUBJECT: Signing in, and out

The complicated future: A publisher is coming out this fall with a 320-page book on Peace Corps Placement Exams. An advertisement for it says "Valuable 'how to study' sections help the candidate enter the Peace Corps."

□ □ □

Meantime, the Peace Corps received its 200,000th application. And on the negative side, somebody in the planning office figured that sometime this year the 10,000th person dropped out of a training program.

□ □ □

Four score and then some: The Peace Corps has taught about 120 languages to trainees, Volunteers, staff members and staff wives. The latest addition to the list? None other than English. Marlene "Betty" Bott, a native of Manta, Ecuador, who married a Peace Corps Volunteer who subsequently became an associate director in Venezuela, studied English under the agency's auspices in Washington while she and her husband, Terance, prepared to go overseas again. She continued English studies in Venezuela.

□ □ □

After completing service as a Volunteer nurse in Turkey, Lynne Courtemanche went off to help refight the Crimean War as a kind of latter day Florence Nightengale. She signed up as a nurse with a British film troupe which included Tony Richardson, Sir John Gielgud, Trevor Howard, David Hemmings and 3,000 Turkish soldiers, who were outside Ankara recreating "The Charge of the Light Brigade."

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Footnotes on married life in the Peace Corps: Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Neil, a retired farm couple who had been Volunteers for 10 months, celebrated their 38th wedding anniversary aboard the open river barge which carried Volunteers and staff members out of Nigeria's Midwestern Region. "Most exciting anniversary we've ever had," said Mrs. Neil. And returned Dominican Republic Volunteers Roma and Luther Elmore report that in 49 years of marriage, the years with the most marital squabbles were those spent in the Peace Corps.

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Here are some gems about applicants reported by the Office of Public Affairs:

■ A kindly person listed as a referent by a youth trying to get into the Peace Corps reported helpfully that "even police patrolmen that arrested him in past years stated they liked him."

■ One hopeful got this glowing report: "I have seen her react favorably when her hand was smashed in a car door."

■ Other references:
—"About emotion, he can take it or leave it."
—"He can carry on a conversation with anything that comes up."
—"Although he shakes a little, I feel he is emotionally stable."

■ One reference reported about an applicant: "Recently her folks have been working, but before that her father was a minister."

It had always been my theory that a well adjusted person at home could be well adjusted overseas and on his return still be that way. I haven't changed my mind. I can only add that the experience gives the flexible individual two points of view for looking at the world—from the U.S. looking out, and from *over there* looking back. We have three phases of reference: (1) trainee considering the whole thing, (2) Volunteer participating, and (3) returned Volunteer examining the complete picture. I suppose I have entered Phase III by now. And I think it is, perhaps, more important than the other more temporary stages.

Phase III is for good. It's by far the most enjoyable of the three. It's so effortless. But it has intricate patterns that require deliberate thought —occasions for recounting adventure and observances. How to tell the home folks what it's really like in the "mud hut" or mosaic palace. My hometown has given me the chance, some sincere and some filling a program. But I got the chance. And I took it. Today, I spoke to my second group this week—my father's civic men's group. At first I was surprised to see busy men stand up for the Pledge of Allegiance—then I began to feel that was part of what had supported my training and tour—those tax paying World War II veterans, who sang *America* and meant it. They may not have made America perfect by their own efforts, but they tried and they are still trying. The only way for them to know the results is for us to tell them. I'll try.

PAMELA DEAN SPENCER
Bronwood, Texas

Peace Corps honors

C. Payne Lucas, deputy director of Peace Corps operations in Africa and former country director in Niger, is a recipient of the 1967 President's Award for Distinguished Federal Service.

Lucas was cited for leadership contributions to the Peace Corps in Africa and Washington, where he is also Director Jack Vaughn's Special Assistant for Equal Employment Opportunity. He was one of six government officials who received the 1967 award, the highest honor that can be conferred on a federal employe.

Alexander Shakow, acting director of training, has received a meritorious award for achievement in public administration from the William A. Jump Foundation. He was honored for his leadership in developing and implementing in-country training programs.

Volunteer dies

Peter M. Nelson, 25, died September 1 of a brain hemorrhage resulting from injuries sustained in a motor scooter accident on the Greek island of Rhodes where he and his wife, Barbara, were vacationing. Mrs. Nelson was not seriously injured in the accident.

The Nelsons had been teaching English in Iran for almost a year.

In addition to his wife, Nelson is survived by his father, John R. Nelson of Harwichport, Mass., and brothers. Funeral services were held September 6 in Harwichport.

Raymaker lost

Volunteer Mark C. Raymaker is missing and presumed dead in Tanzania. He vanished August 9 while hunting in a remote area heavily populated with wild game. An intensive air and ground search failed to turn up any trace of him or his equipment.

Raymaker, 24, of Green Bay, Wisconsin, was hunting game for a group of 50 Volunteers who were working on a summer vacation health project involving the inoculation of nomadic Masai herdsmen against smallpox and diptheria. According to companions, he was stalking a gazelle when he disappeared into the dense bush near the Volunteer base camp at Kibaya. The Volunteers were living off the land and had organized daily hunting parties to obtain meat.

Large groups of Volunteers, staff members, Masai trackers and Tanzania police and game wardens combed the rugged territory, while helicopters and light planes scanned a 450-square mile area for the missing Volunteer. A reward of 30 cows was offered Masai tribesmen for helpful information. Their wealth is measured in terms of cattle. After two fruitless weeks the search was abandoned, and officials indicated that there is virtually no hope of finding Raymaker. However, the tribesmen continue to look as the reward still stands.

Allowance average dips

The estimated average Volunteer monthly living allowance during the current fiscal year is $98.33. That's 83 cents less than the estimated average last year (fiscal 1967).

During fiscal year 1966, which ran from July 1, 1965 to June 30, 1966, the average monthly allowance was $106. The averages include a one-time settling-in allowance.

As of last March 31, when the latest statistics were compiled, Volunteers in rural Korea and Nepal received less in allowances than anybody else in the Peace Corps. Their dollar allowances stood at $45 per month.

Venezuela ranked at the top of the scale, with allowances ranging from $156-167. Generally, allowances were lowest in the East Asia and Pacific Region, and highest in the Africa Region. The subsistence allowances vary with local conditions.

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